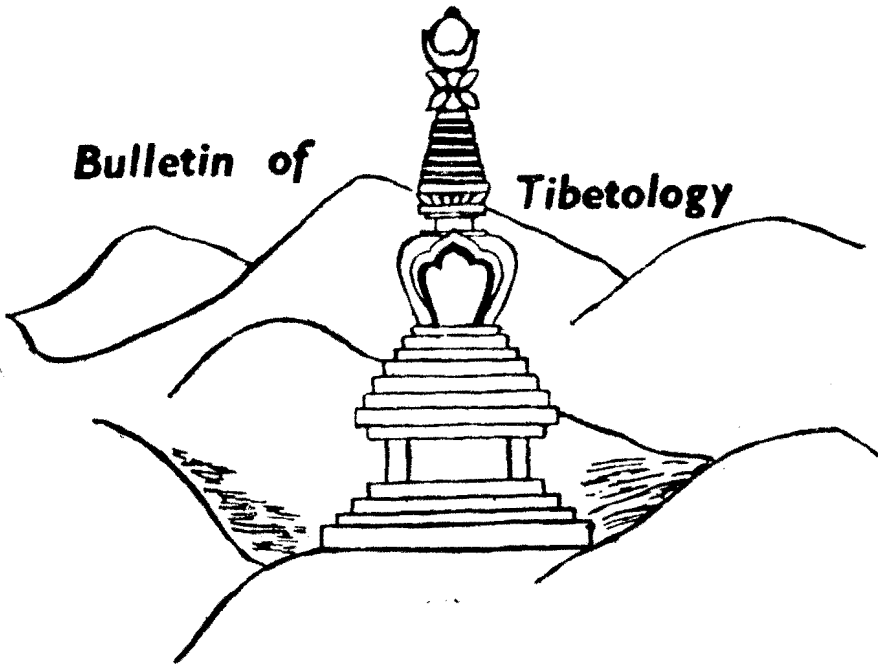


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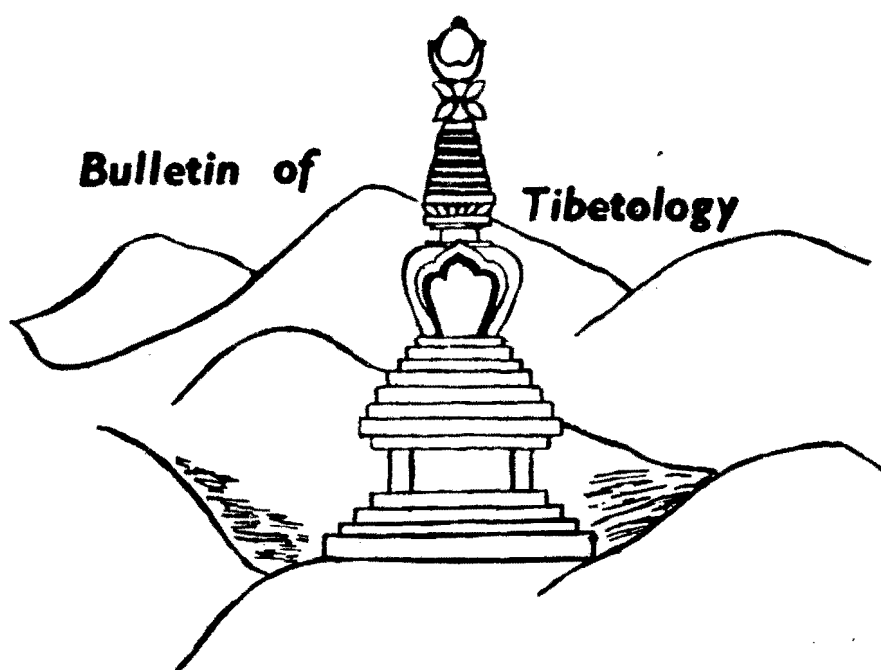


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A TALE OF ASOKA

—H. W. BAILEY

Asoka has been interpreted in the speculations of historians for his public acts authenticated by his own inscriptions; to those inscriptions long known new inscriptions have been added from Afghanistan.¹ But another side is displayed in the legendary record. Here he is the great patron of Buddhism. The cycle of his acts fills an avadana, a narrative, of his religious career. Two of the episodes of this religious epic of Asoka were translated into the language of Gostana-desa, that is, modern Khotan, and have survived in two copies, both incomplete, now in the Bibliotheque nationale, Paris. They have been published in transcription in my *Khotanese Buddhist Text* (1951, =KBT), pp. 40-44. Here I offer a first attempt to render the text in English. Asoka is also the subject of a legend in Tibetan. In the Tanjur, in the Lihi yul lung-bstan-pa, the origin of the Khotan Saka kingship is traced to a son of Asoka who is here called Dharma 'Asoka'.² Allusion to this genealogy in a Saka text from Ch'ien-fo-tung is made in my book *Khotanese Texts* 2.53. Here we read in a panegyric that Visa' Darma king of Gostana-desa derives from the anciant family: *vasve guttera rrvī mahasamma rramda hye gutira jsa narada* issued from the family of royal Mahasammata the king of pure family. This is followed by reference in a list to *Vaisramana* the deva *Asum* (=Asoka) and *Ca-yam* the king, who is called in Tibetan *Ca-yan* and *Cha-yan*.³

A Sogdian reference to Asoka occurs in a Manichean texts in a list of evil-doers: *swk MLKy ky prw s'kmnw pwt'y ps'ypw wxtw d'rt* the king Asoka who slandered the Buddha Sakyamuni.⁴ In the tenth century vocabulary⁵ in Sanskrit and Tibetan the name Bud. Skt *Darmasogaradza* is given as *rgyal-po Darma 'Asoga* in Tibetan. This is near to the Prakrit

1. *Journal asiatique* 1958. 1-48; 1964, 137-157.
2. Translated in F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 198 ff.; a new translation has been made by R. E. Emmerick, and will shortly be printed with a transliterated text.
3. A translation of this text is in preparation in the Text Volume to be joined to my four portfolios of facsimiles of Saka Documents. See earlier *BSOAS* 10,918-9.
4. W. B. Henning, *JRAS*, 1944, 141.
5. J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanskrit-tibetain*, p. 17.

form which has given in Khotan Saka *Asu* (indicating the sound *Azu*) and *Isu*, here the *-oga-* has been replaced by *-u* as usual in Saka dialects. From this same Prakrit came the older Chinese *A-yu* for an older *A-zu*, now pronounced in Japanese *A-iku*, showing the older *-k-*. The Bud. Skt *Asoka-* is written in Saka *Asaukau* as the name of four Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpika-sutra.⁶ In KT 3,116, 10v4 occurs *namau asaukau nama tathagatau*, the revered Asoka, by name, the tathagata.

The other names occurring in the Saka text are *Pattmava*, Bud. Skt *Padmavati*, *Ttislraksya*, older E 20.45 (KT 3, 25,5v3) *Ttisaraksa*, Bud. Skt *Tisaraksa*, *Varmavardam*, Bud. Skt *Dharmavivardhana*, *Kuuala*, *Upagupta*, *Yasas*, *Senevaka* the acarya, not found in Bud. Skt; and the place names *Gomdhamayam*, Bud. Skt *Gandhamandana*, and *Ttahikasa'-silai*, Bud. Skt *Taksasila*.

The whole avadana of Asoka is preserved in a Chinese translation from Sanskrit, from which J. Przyluski made his rendering into French with an introductory essay.⁷ The Buddhist story is told in Sanskrit in the Divyavadana (pp. 382-434) and has recently been studied again by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya in his book *The Asokavadana*, 1963. The Kunala episode of the avadana is published with a facsimile of a Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript by G. M. Bongard and O. F. Volkova in their *Legenda o Kunale* in Moscow 1963, reviewed by J. de Jong, in the *Indo-Iranian Journal* 8,233-240. The tale of the man's head is told in the Sutralamkara (French translation by Ed. Huber, p. 90 ff.). The Tibetan version is in the Kunalavadana (Tanjur Mdo, facsimile Pekin 127, 294-302).

The Saka avadana reads in English translation as follows.

TRANSLATION

Siddham, So I have heard. When this reverend dasabalacakravartin Sakyamuni, deva of devas, the Buddha had completed the work of bodhi, there also the present vaineyas were taught and delivered, the time (of death) arrived for him. Then he drew near to the bank of the Nairanjana river under the yamaka-sala trees he entered upon the samadhi called Mahaparinirvana when over him the first watch of the night had passed.

6. *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* 77-85, 234,314,401,552.

7. *La legende de Pemereur Asoka*.

Then here in Jambudvipa in Pataliputra a king named Asu' sat in sovereignty. He brought under his own control the whole continent of Jambudvipa as far as the verge of ocean; all who were kings in Jambudvipa acclaimed him and did his commands. In Jambudvipa he made 18000 caityas, in all of them he placed sariras (relics) of the Buddha. This king had two queens, and 8000 in his antahpura—Of the first queen the name was Padmavati and the name of the second Tisyarakṣita.

Then at another time the queen Padmavati became pregnant and after the passing of ten months she bore a king's son like a devaputra. The queen took him up in a wrapping and gave him to the king. The king received him in his arms. To the queen he spoke delightedly, saying, To the measure of a hundred years forward may you live with this prince as in the clear akāśa the graha (planets), the nakṣatra (constellations), and the moon and sun shine out. At the time of Jātimaha (birthday feast) they named a name for him and they gave the name prince Varmavardhana.

Then at another time the king Asu' deigned to look at the eyes of the prince Varmavardhana. And he ordered his amātyas, saying, You should look at the prince's eyes, whether anything on earth resembles such eyes which are his. The amātyas spoke with respect, saying, Deva, in a rumour we have heard on Mount Gandhamādana there is a bird by name kunala and his eye is so fine that if he should not resemble it, on earth no being exists who resembles it. Deva, the prince's eyes are such eyes as if one put two chacedony jewels upon a blue lotus leaf. If he looks straight at us suddenly, it seems that amṛta flows into our throat, or that in it are brilliant jewels lying there. Then the king ordered, saying, Bring, here a kunala bird from Gandhamādana. When they had brought it for comparison, saying, The eyes are like one another, then they gave to prince Varmavardhana the name Kunala.

Then the prince Kunala quickly grew up and became adult as in cool water the celestial utpala lotuses grow.

Then at another time the king Asu' conducted the prince Kunala to a saṃgharama. Kunala was a delight to the sthāvira Upagūpta. When the sthāvira had finished the dharma desana, then the king returned again. There at another saṃgharama he met with the ācārya Senevaka and with his forehead he went with homage to his feet. In his following was an amātya. He was exceedingly devoid of faith. He reproved

the king, he spoke so, saying, Deign not to make the sovereignty contemptible; To every red-clad person that you may see, you go with homage. A king is necessarily fierce and bold with exalted punyas (merits). It is not fitting, Deva, for the sovereignty that he (the king) should roll on the earth. Then the king returned to the palace. Thereupon he issued an order, saying, All amatyas, you shall assemble. Thereupon 7000 amatyas gathered. The king ordered this, saying, Every amatya is to bring a head, Yasa for his part will bring a man's head, but do not in any way cause pranatipata (death to breathing beings). Early next morning they all brought before the king a head. The king ordered this saying, Take them to the market, and sell them at a price. When they brought them to the market, they sold all of them at a price. When they saw that the amatya Yasa on his part carried a man's head, horror was felt, in all ways they fled. With abuse they spoke to him, saying, Do not a second time deign to offer that, such a disgusting thing, stuffed with worms as is this head. If indeed he orders, saying, Take it into your hand, indeed, he will suffer great trouble, who buys that at a price. Then the amatyas returned to the palace and they made a report, saying All other heads we could sell at a price, but the man's head the amatya Yasa has been unable to sell at a price. Then the king ordered him, saying, What fault do you see in it which you deigned to search out? Yasa the amatya spoke, saying, In every one are the same faults. Deva, it is in no one because of peculiar qualities; disgusting it is, stinking, inauspicious, the same. The king ordered him, Is only that one disgusting, or are all disgusting? Yasa the amatya spoke to him, saying, All in fact have the same marks, Deva. The king ordered him, saying, This my head which possesses exalted punyas, how is it to be thought of? Speak truly. Yasa the amatya spoke, saying, This too is precisely like the other heads, Deva. Then the king ordered him, saying, It is such a disgusting thing as this man's head is, for which not even a place can be found where you may put it. Then, amatya, does it not please you when with it I revere the deva Buddha's pupil who actually appears with the asaya- (mind) of the foremost gotra- (family) of the acars? These good qualities of all kinds, approved, have, they not become subjects recognisable by you? If one can know the number of the drops of water in the ocean, then they will know the good qualities possessed by the pravrajitas (wanderers). Then Yasa the amatya begged pardon of the king Asu', and he spoke, saying, I have not done well, I did not understand that the many good qualities are possessed by the pravrajitas.

And then at another time the inhabitants of Taksasila rebelled

against the king Isu,' his command they did not obey, and they withheld his taxes. Then Isu' the king in Pataliputra mounted and led an army to Taksasila. He brought the people of Gandhara back to his command. Long time he remained there. Then here in Pataliputra the queen Tisyarakṣita deigned to call prince Kunala. When the prince came before her, he greeted her with his forehead, humbly he sat, and the queen spoke to him so, saying, When your father went away, he placed the country and the land in your hand, but a month passes for you, you do not come to the palace. The prince spoke to her, saying, As much as is my love to my own mother, so much is it to the devi queen. Because here in the palace there is gossip and talk, I dared not enter. These are those whom you draw to come to the palace, and still more that the king is now not present. Then the queen Tisyarakṣita tried the fortitude of the prince Kunala by way of love sports, but the prince refused to agree, and he went out from them. Then the queen felt fierce displeasure, she thereupon sough, revenge against him. Then Isu' the king returned from Taksasila. When he came to Pataliputra there Padmavati, and Tisyarakṣita the queen, the prince Kunala asked after his health and the fatigues of the road. They spoke (each) to him, saying, My heart is greatly pleased here, that you have come to your throne. We see the Deva in good state, calm, in health and fortune.

Then at another time the queen Tisyarakṣita remembered the grief against prince Kunala. Yasa the amatya she deigned to call, to him she deigned to disclose that earlier hostility against him. Yasa the amatya spoke, saying, The prince formerly put me to shame before men. My hat fell off and he struck me six strokes upon the head. This hatred therefore is not yet forgotten. Together they formed a plot against him. And they worked upon the king Isu' so that they induced him to send prince Kunala to Taksasila to rule in his own native land. (The rest is missing).

COMMENTARY

These Saka text are still full of difficulties. A short commentary is therefore necessary.

Line 7. *simaham simavase* he entered into *samadhana*; the same time is mentioned in KT V 137, 1r2 *parinirvana-kala-samaye*, but with the *madhyame yame* the middle watch

19. *hadikana*, loc. sg. only here, is from the context the cloth in which the child is carried; in form it is *hada*-with suffix *ika*,-connected

with *hada*-clothing, see *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1954, 155, and the *Barr Festschrift*; Georgian loan-word *ardag* mantle, and Armenian *arta*-are likely to be the same word.

22. *jvam*, B text 139 *jva* 2 sg. conjunctive, may you live, to *juta* he lives.

24. *such*-to name, call from a base *sauk*-,familiar in Baltic Lithuanian *saukiu*, *saukti*, Lettish *saukt* to name, see *Indo Iranian Journal* 2,156-7.

36. *karakiyin*, *raman* B text 153 *karakiyina*, chacedony stone, Siddhasara 137v1 *kirkiyam* for Bud. Skt *ambu-mani*. elsewhere Skt *karketana*-, Zoroastrian Pahlavi *karkehan*, Arab. *karkuhan*, see *Asiatica, Festschrift Weller*, 14-5.

37. *visam vi*, B text 37 *visa vi* in the throat, here only. from the base *vis*-to turn, older **vrtsa*-to *var*-to turn, see *Asia Major*, new series' 11,114.

42. *parbutta* he became adult, as Bud. Skt *Divyavadana* 3,17 *mahan samyrtah*.

48. *isada* infidel, from Prakrit *Gandhari asadha*-,Bud. Skt *asraddha*-.

53. *bith*- to turn, twist, from older **vre-ya*-, attested in Siddhasara 121v4 *bithana*-,Bud. Skt *udavartin*-,Tibetan *dril-ba* be twisted, with proverb Sid 18v2 *hambithe*, Bud. Skt *grahi*-, Tib. *sri-bar byed*.

53' *kusda*-palace, Bud, Skt *rajakula*-,*pajusda*-capital, Bud. Skt *rajadhani*, from older **kauzda*-as in Avestan *kaozda*-, and with suffix -*ka*- in Middle Persian *kosk*,

65. *pisaraviyc*- renders Bud. Skt *jusupsita*-in *Divy* 382,25.

73. *kusa*. infinitive to *kuys*-, Bud. Skt *a rimargana* seeking.

75. *sima* has been taken as Bud Skt *sama*- equal, same.

85. *piysina*. B text 203 *piysinni*, is derived from *paysan*-to know, hence *paysan-ya*-recognition.

104. *spasti* is elsewhere *vispasti*, from Prakrit; Bud. Skt *visvasta*-with suffix-*ya*-, occurring also *Jataka*-stava.

104. *cakyam* play, sport, gen, plural for older *tcarka*-, which renders Bud. Skt *rati*-.

104. *ha ni anavarttya aurye* he did not approve of agreeing, he refused to consent.

106. *ttana vaska* then for him, with *ttana*-abjective from *ta*-belonging

to that time or place, in loc. sg. *ttana* with pronoun *yi*.

113. *gachanai* grief trouble, Siddhasara 125v2 *gachanam jsd*, Tib. *gdungs* misery.

117. *bauci vichuste* the hat fell down, in the Chinese version *k'i kuan jun ti* his hat fell to the ground.

117. *ragyi bimda*, Chinese *t'ou* head, found also in *KT* (=Khotanese Texts) 2, 1,11 *ramgya baida tcamjsa* rendering Chinese *t'ou fa* hair on the head.

117. *ksi palai hyaste* he struck six light strokes, in Chinese *p'ai* he struck lightly.

118. *sambaji bastada* they bound an agreement. Here *sambaja* is from Prakrit to Bud. Skt *sam-vad-ya*-planning together, not the more usual Saka *samboj*-to be successful, prosper from *sam-padyate*.

120. *rruste* rule, sovereignty, acc. sg. to older *rrusta* acc. sg. *rrustu*, abstract to *rrund*-king.

ON THE ICONOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF LCAM-SRING, THE GOD OF WAR

—JUAN ROGER RIVIERE

In the series of the Defenders of the Faith, in Sanskrit *Dhatma-pala* (धर्मपाल), in Tibetan *Chos-skyong* (), who execute the will of the tutelaries, one of them has a special figure for Tibetan theology : *Lcam-sring* (), the God of War. The representation of these Defenders is of the fiercest kind, *drag-po* () or *drag-gs'ed* (), and there was the problem of the origin of such iconographical conceptions. Some authors think that they are metamorphoses of the Hindu *Kali Devi* (काली देवी); others speak of a Chinese influence or a Tibetan origin, such representations coming possibly from ancient native gods or goddesses of the *Bon* () culture, for instance, The Red-Tiger devil, I shall study here the iconography of the God of War; as in my particular collection of Thankas I have some representations of this *dharma-pala*, they helped me in my work.

The usual representation which is in some of my Tibetan thankas is the following one :

He is red coloured and treads a horse with his right foot, and, with his left one, a naked man. With his right hand he brandishes a sparkling sword and between his lips he mouthes a human heart. In his left hand he carries a bow and a spear with a red flag green cornered. He has a frontal eye. His armour is covered by a floating vestment with sleeves. At his left, accompanying him, is *Srog-bdog* () covered by an armour, sitting on a dark-grey wolf, in his right hand he carries a sword, and in his left one, a noose. At his right side appears *Rig-bu-mo* (), sitting on a light grey lion, with a knife in his right hand, and a *p'ur-bu* () in the left one. He is surrounded by red devils, the "knife holders" (*gri-thogs*) who cut the corpses which cover the battlefield, and who raven hearts, etc. . They all carry a sword in their right hand.

It is a terrible *Dnarmcpala*. His head has the coloury aspect (*K'ro-bo*) of all those divinities, and, just like his hands, it is red coloured. On his three-eyed 'forehead' a skulls' wreath is placed. From his back hangs a chain of severed heads. In another *tanka* (), he is covered by a golden armour, and with his right foot he treads a horse and with the left one a naked man. With his right hand he brandishes

a sword. its pommel *p'ur-bu* () shaped, and between his lips he mouthes a human heart. His left arm carries a bow and a spear. He has a frontal eye, and on his head he bears a crown formed by five skulls. Hanging from his waist we can see the great garland of human heads, symbol of these terrible divinities. He is surrounded by ten emanations of himself. In the upper part there are three lamas; in the middle, *Con-Kha-pa* (), sitting on a lotus in the attitude of meditation-his hands resting on his chest and holding the stems of two lotuses crowned, the right one by the sword, and the left one by the book. He is accompanied by two of his disciples: *Mkas-grub* () at the right side, and *Rgyal-chab* () at the left one.

On another *tanka*, this god is distinct from his usual iconography; he is there on foot on a lotus, and no one is around him. With his right hand he brandishes a sword, he is devouring a human heart and carries a spear. The sun and the moon appear above. The painting is black bluish and yellow, red and white strokes. The divinity is surrounded by flamy clouds. Below, a fantastic background covered by bones.

It is well-known that the *Dharmcpalas* have always a terrific appearance, bordered by flames, with sword, spear and whip. They are always of the fiercest fiendish kind. The *Lha-mo* () or *pal-lban-lha-mo* (), "the queen of the warring weapon", is one of them; she is surrounded by flames, riding on a white-faced mule, upon a saddle made out of the skin of her own son; she is clad in human skins and is eating a human body and drinking blood from a skull; often she has serpents around her. As it is known she is worshipped for seven days at the end of the twelfth month, and the offerings are placed in a bowl made out of a human skull. The identification *Lha-mo* with the *Sri Devi*, (श्री देवी) or the *Kali* (काली) of the Hindu mythology is evident; in the case of *Lha-mo*, there is also a big influence of the prototype of the goddess *Durga*. (दुर्गा)

According to Grunwedel and Pozdneev, *Lcam-sring* belongs to the group of the *arcg-gsed*, the "Terrible Eight" which are really the following nine gods: *Rta-mgrin* (); *Lcam-sring* (); *Jigs-byed* (); *Gsin-rje* (); *Mgon-po dkar-po* (); *Ts'angs-pa* (); *Rnam-'os-sras* (); Grunwedel has doubt about the origin of *Lcam-sring*; he is thinking of *Kartikēya* (कार्तिकेय) or *Skand* (स्कन्द) the God of War of Hinduism, son of *Siva* (शिव) and *Purvati*

(पार्वती) according to most of the Puranic texts. He notes the outstanding part played by the God of War in the *Tsam'* () dance. But I do not see in the Hindu iconography of *Skanda* anything which recalls the Tibetan God of War.

For my part, I think that almost every one of these terrible gods and goddesses, defenders of Buddhism, are coming from the same representations in Hinduism around the great *Devi* (देवी) in her destructive or transforming aspect: *Camunda*, (चामुण्डा) for instance, is an emanation of *Durga* (दुर्गा) and the *Markandeya Purana* (मार्कण्डेय पुराण) gives the description of this black goddess with a sword, a whip, a noose, a collar of skulls and with her eyes full of blood and fury. The *Devi* takes the forms of the *Yogini* (योगिनी), the witches and ogresses who accompany *Durga* and of the *Dakini* (डाकिनी), the demons, eaters of human flesh and companions of *Kali* (काली); we have, in the Hindu demonology, the *Grahi*, witches who come into the body of new borns and kill them, the *Bhairavi* (भैरवी), who assist *Siva* (शिव), and *Durga*, the *Sakini* (शाकिनी) who help the black goddess. All these forms are the female side of the gods of awe and terror, like *Rudra* (रुद्र), *Bhairava* (भैरव), *Bhutesvara* (भूतेश्वर), the 'chief-of-the-phantoms', with the serpents on his head and the collar of skulls. All around these aspects of *Siva-Rudra* (शिव-रुद्र) there is a very rich iconography which has had certain consequences on Tibetan mythology. All the gods of the *Drag-po* kind have their Hindu counterpart: *Rta-mgrin* is *Hayagriva* (हयग्रीव); *Ys'in-rje gs'ed* is *Yamari* (यमारि); the *Mkah-'gro-ma* are the *dakini*, the demoniacal tutelaries. Surely, all these black Tibetan gods are coming from local and primitive deities but the theological conception and definition issue from Hinduism. The tantric rites from Bengal brought these deities and they were assimilated with local genii, many of them from the *Bon* cult.

I think that our God of War, *Lcam-sring*, belongs to that same class; all his characteristics are coming from the fiercest kind of *Siva* as *Rudra* (रुद्र) and *Kali* (काली); the frontal eye, the sword, the noose, the serpents, the skulls, the eyes full of rage. He is a destroyer, and, in this aspect, a Tibetan masculine copy of *Kali*, the transformer of the World, the 'Black' who is symbol of the destruction of the Creation; her black colour represents the darkness of the Void of the Universe, as *Kali* is said "to be clad with Space", *digambari* (दिगम्बरी). She is the Great Mother who unceasingly creates forms but life continues only by Death and Renewal. *Kali* is the goddess of the Infinite Power who creates, transforms and dissolves the manifestation of the Universe. This

aspect of transformation is represented by terrific instruments she carries, as the skulls, the blood, the serpents and the human corpses which surround her. *Lcam-sring* is also a destructive form of god; for this reason, he bears all the iconographical symbolism of the Great Goddess, and his appearance is very close to some representations of the Hindu Black Goddess.

THE LAMA

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

Tibetan or Mongolian Buddhist monk'—that is how the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* explains the word Lama and this no doubt reflects the current English (or European) usage. Phrases like 'Land of Lamas', or 'Lamasery' are coined on this meaning of the word. Yet in Tibet, as in any other Land of Lamas, the word Lama (properly transcribed BLAMA) is restricted to a few categories of monks and priests and is not used indiscriminately for all monks and priests.

The word Lama means the Superior One or "the one who has no superior" and is taken to correspond to Guru or Uttara in Sanskrit; a specific connotation is that one who can administer initiation (Skt. Diksha=Tib. Dbang) is a Lama. A Lama is thus not necessarily an incarnate (Tib. Sprul-sku=Skt. Nirmanakaya), while any incarnate is not ipso facto a Lama. Both Tibetan religious literature and Mongol/Manchu regulations testify to the spiritual authority and temporal immunities of the Lamas. Not unoften these immunities were claimed and enjoyed by other ranks of monks and priests and this added piquancy to the politics of Inner Asia.

II

The word Lama meaning preceptor or priest was in currency in Tibet before the advent of Buddhism and the priest in the pre-Buddhist Bon religion was as is still, called Lama. Thus no new coinage was needed to render into Tibetan the Indian term Guru abounding in the Mahayana literature, particularly the treatises and tracts on Tantra; there are numerous examples in Kanjur and Tanjur authenticating Lama for Guru. A historic example, and perhaps the first such, designating an Indian master as Lama is noticed in the grammar of Thonmi Sambhota, the reputed author of Tibetan script (circa 640). In his grammar Thonmi makes obeisance 'to all the Lamas' (bla-ma rnam-la). Who are all these Lamas? They would no doubt include the Indian masters with whom Thonmi studied Indian script Indian grammar and Indian metres. Shalu Lotsava in his commentary on Thonmi's grammar identifies two of these Lamas as Devavidya Simha and Lipidatta and calls them Thonmi's "own Lamas" (bdag-nyid kyi bla-ma).

The label of Lama for a Buddhist priest in Tibet commenced with

Padmasambhava (circa 750). Appropriately known as Mahaguru or Guru Rinpoche, Padmasambhava not only vanquished the priests of Bon religion in encounters of miracle and polemic but also instituted an order of native priests for the preservation and propagation of the Dharma. The seven Tibetans ordained as monks by the Mahaguru are the first Lamas of Buddhism. They and their successors became the First Estate of the country and even monarchy took precedence after the Lamas. A royalist reaction allied with the Bon and launched a most cruel persecution of Buddhism. In desperation and against heavy odds the Lamas engineered a regicide (842). The monarchy was discredited; the royal house was divided and got dispersed while the Lamas grew in popularity and strength.

Without a spiritual guide an esoteric system (Skt. Tantra=Tib. Rgyud), as was the form of Dharma propagated in Tibet, cannot succeed. Thus Buddhism in Tibet begins with Guru (Lama) and the saviour of Buddhism in Tibet, Padmasambhava, goes down in history as the Guru. In the two centuries following the regicide (842) and the Buddhist priests, return to the Court, the formula for "Refuge in Three Gems" came to be prefixed with "Refuge in Lama." At the outset the refuge in Lama was for purely spiritual or moral needs. Being the custodian of the script (an import from the Land of Enlightenment) and being the organizer of the educational system (all schools were monastic), the Lama was destined to be the refuge in a much wider sense. On the breakup of centralized monarchy and on the dissolution of ancient landholding, the abbot of a well-organized monastery would be the natural refuge for the common man in the neighbourhood. It is thus appropriate to note that government of the Sakya Lamas for about a century (1250-1350) was as much due to the internal forces calling for monastic leadership as to the support of the Mongol Emperors. The Karmapa Lamas also, though to a lesser extent, wielded political power in parts of Tibet before the rise of the Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Dalai Lamas ruled as Kings over all Tibet for roughly three centuries (1642-1950); it was admittedly the reign of Lamas. It is not necessary in the present context to detail the events of the Sakya, Karmapa and Dalai Lamas. Besides the complexities and niceties of the Lamaist polity cannot be handled in the space of this essay. It is however necessary to note here that much of the sectarian wars sprang from indisputable privileges and immunities of the Lamas.

In Mongolia propagation was first made in the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries, that is, during the period of the Great Khans. Kubilai promulgated "a decree of two principles" laying down the relations between Church and State thus: "the Lama is the root of the high Religion and the lord of the Doctrine; the Emperor, the head of the Empire and the master of the secular power. The laws of the True Doctrine, like the sacred silk cord, cannot be weakened; the laws of the Great Emperor, like the golden yoke, are indestructible". The *White Annals*, a contemporary chronicle obviously compiled under the Emperor's blessings, records this decree. (The excerpt is made from Zamcarano; *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century* tr. Loewenthal, Wiesbaden 1955.) Several Mongol chronicles and the Tibetan chronicle *Hu-lan-deb-ther* (*The Red Annals*, Gangtok 1961) refer to the decrees of Jenghiz Khan and his successors confirming the special prerogatives of the Lamas. All priests were exempted from taxes, military service and manual work for non-monastic purpose while the top ones enjoyed precedence over nobles and secular dignitaries. The Church-State relations in Mongolia, under the Great Khans, recall the Brahmanical theory of relations between the Purohita (Brahmana) and the Raja (Kshatriya) as in the colourful portrait of Coomaraswamy: *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942).

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the second propagation and the final victory of the Dharma in Mongolia. This propagation was made by the Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) and all temples and monasteries in Mongolia eventually subscribed to the Yellow Sect. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Yellow Sect became the central temporal authority in Tibet and shortly afterwards the head of the Yellow Sect, the Dalai Lama, became the priest and ally of the Manchu Emperor. In Mongolia thus the Lamas soon became the First Estate par excellence.

The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung (1736-96) in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism (1792), which he got inscribed on a marble stele in the Lamaist cathedral in Peking, said: "Buddhism originated in India and spread eastward Its barbarian priests are traditionally known as Lamas. The word Lama does not occur in Chinese books.....I have carefully pondered over its meaning and found that *la* in Tibet means "superior" and *ma* means "none". So *la-ma* means "without superior"Lama also stands for Yellow Religion." (From Lessing's translation in *Yung-ho-kung*, Stockholm 1942).

The Lama was indeed "without superior" both in Tibet and Mongolia and the head of the Yellow Religion was the supreme "without superior".

The head of the Yellow Sect—the incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Tib. Sgyan-ras-gzigs)—was the temporal ruler of Tibet. In Tibet he was known as Skyab-mgon Rin-poche (Precious Prime Refuge) or Rgyal-wa Rin-poche (Precious Conqueror). The Mongols addressed him as Dalai Lama. It is of historic significance that the Mongol form gained currency all over the steppes of Eurasia and the Mongol expression *dalai* (ocean) formed a prized loan-word in Tibetan language.

At the opening of the twentieth century the relations between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor had deteriorated due to fuller Confucianization of the Manchu House and the imperialistic designs of China. On the Expulsion of the Manchu (1911-1912), Dalai Lama XIII formally declared himself sovereign of Tibet by Command of the Buddha (summer 1912). Even then the Lamaist Buddhists in China continued to adore the Dalai Lama as the Refuge or Protector because the priest-disciple relations transcended secular or territorial loyalties.

In their first memorandum to the Tripartite Conference between Britain, China and Tibet the Tibetan Delegation described the situation thus: "Firstly, the relations between the Manchu Emperor and the Protector, Dalai Lama the fifth, became like that of the disciple towards the teacher. The sole aim of the then Government of China being to earn merits for this and for the next life, they helped and honoured successive Dalai Lamas and treated the monks of all the monasteries with respect Gradually the Chinese Emperor lost faith in the Buddhist religion, and he treated the precious Protector, the Dalai Lama, with less respect At last the Tibetans, driven by sheer desperation, had to fight, which ended in the defeat of the Chinese .. The people of Mongolia and China send monks to the different monasteries in Tibet and also pay vast tributes to the monasteries. The Buddhist monasteries and other religious institutions in Mongolia and China recognise the Dalai Lama as their religious head " (English text as that of Lonchen Shatra reproduced on pages 1-6 of *The Boundary Question Between China, Britain and Tibet: A Valuable Record of the Tripartite Conference held in India 1913-1914*, Peking 1940.)

III

Tibetan scholars with knowledge of Hindu society would liken the word *bla-ma* to Sanskrit *brahmana* and *brahma*. The literary and historical evidence culled above no doubt indicates that the Lama's status was not inferior to that of the Brahmana in Hindu society.

The Present writer is not a student of linguistics but would venture to point out a few facts in this connection. It is not Possible to transcribe satisfactorily in Tibetan *brahmana* or *brahma* as in Tibetan *br* has the sound *d*. A Brahmin (who usually came from Nepal) was called *bram* (Pronounced *dam/dram*) and oftener *bram-ze* (Pronounced *damje*) after (Nepalese) Baje (cf. Sarat Das: *Dictionary* p. 890). On the other hand Skt. *brahma* could change into Tib. *blama* through dialects of eastern India. In the eastern dialects *r* often changes into *l* as Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji amply demonstrated four decades ago (*Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Calcutta 1926, PP 484-5). So *brahma* to *blahama* would be natural for the Mongoloid groups not adequately 'Aryanised.' These were groups living in and around Bengal and Assam. In parts of Bengal and Assam *h* is not pronounced with the result that in common speech *brahma* and *brahmana* are pronounced as *bamma* and *bammon*. (On the loss of *h* and aspirates in Nepali and Bengali see Chatterji: op. cit., PP 444, 557 and same author's *Indo-Aryan & Hindi*, Calcutta 1960, PP 111-113) If we add to this the fact that in Tibetan there is no short *a* and that every *a* is long *a* it is not difficult to accept *bla-ma* as the Tibetan for *brahma*.

[In Tibet itself change of *r* into *l* would not be unusual. When Ra-sa (Place of goats) became the cathedral city the change of name was no problem. It was called Lha-sa (Place of gods).]

[It is relevant to cite here the suggestion of an Assamese scholar, Mr. Bishnu Rabha, that the name of the river Brahma-putra is derived from Mongoloid Bhullam-buthur (making a gurgling sound). Vide Chatterji: *Kirata-jana-Krti* Calcutta 1951, PP 47-48. It was not a one way traffic; if Sanskrit *r* could change into Mongoloid *l*, Mongoloid *l* could change into Sanskrit *r*.]

IV

The present paper notices any similarity between the status (and role) of the Brahmana and that of the Lama and does not suggest any identity in the charisma sported by both. That question entails investigation into (i) the respective theories of salvation in Brahmanism (Hinduism) and Buddhism (Mahayana) and (ii) the mechanics of living among predominantly agricultural and settled peoples as in the plains of India and among predominantly pastoral and nomadic peoples as in the highlands of Tibet. While this task will take considerable time to complete, it may be stated in conclusion here that a Brahmana is born with the status while a Lama is not born with such status,

JO ATISA IN SERLING AND THOLING

—B. R. CHATTERJI

In the latest edition (1984) of his *Histoire Ancienne d'Etats Hindouises d'Extreme Orient* Professor G. Coedes writes that King Chudamanivarmadeva was reigning in Srivijaya early in the 11th century A. D. It was in his reign that the Acharya Dharmakirti composed a commentary on the text *Abhisamayalankara*. In the sub-title of the Tibetan translation of this work, entitled *Durbodhaloka* which is attributed to Atisa, it is stated that it was composed in the reign of Chudamanivarmadeva of Srivijayapura at Malayagiri (Malaya? —now known as Jambi north of Palembang, the former capital Srivijaya) in Suvarnavipa (Sumatra). Professor Coedes quotes M. J. Nandou on this point.

Dharmakirti continued to reside in Suvarnavipa in the reign of the succeeding monarch Maravijayatungavarmadeva, for, according to the Tibetan Bu-ston, it was in the period 1011-1023 A. D. that Atisa was studying under Dharmakirti, the head of the Buddhist congregation in the isle of Suvarnavipa in the reign of King Dharmapala. This name Dharmapala does not appear among the royal names in Srivijaya annals. Probably it was the title 'Protector of the Law' of Maravijaya. This Dharmapala, King of Suvarnavipa, was also (according to M. J. Nandou quoted by Coedes) a teacher of Atisa and of Kamalaraksita and was the author of several works relating to Bodhicharyavatara. As further evidence of Atisa's stay in Suvarnavipa we find an early 11th century manuscript with miniatures in which the first miniature has the explanatory note—Dipankara (Atisa) in Yavadvipa, Yavadvipa often meant Sumatra as well as Java.

The text of the Tibetan Bu-ston, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, gives in greater detail the career of Atisa (Dipankara Srijnana). Dipankara (the future Atisa), born in the royal family of Gauda, was ordained in the highest order of Bhiksu at the age of 31. At last he resolved to go to Acharya Dharmakirti, the High Priest of Suvarnavipa. There is a country filled with precious minerals called Suvarnavipa (Sumatra). Though Acharya Dharmakirti (who belonged to the royal family of that country and had been instructed in the Dharma at Vajrasana—i. e. Buddhagaya) resided in Suvarnavipa, his name became known everywhere abroad. In the company of some merchants Dipankara embarked for Suvarnavipa. The voyage was long extending over several months. At this time Suvarnavipa was the head-quarters of Buddhism in the

East and its High Priest was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. Dipankara resided in Suvarnadvipa for 12 years in order to master the pure teachings of the Buddha of which the key was possessed by Dharmakirti alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a vessel visiting Tamradvipa (Ceylon) on the way. After his return from Suvarnadvipa he resided at Vajrasana (Buddhagaya) and acquired the fame of being the foremost Buddhist scholar of India. Hearing of this fame King Mahipala invited him to Vikramasila. During his stay here Atisa (Dipankara was now known by this name) received three earnest invitations from King Ye-ses-od of Gu-ge (in W. Tibet). At the third appeal, Atisa left Vikramasila, in spite of the protests of the Pala King, in the company of the Tibetan monk Nag-tsho. It is the account given by this monk which is the primary source of information about Atisa's visit to Tibet.

Atisa passed through Nepal and reached the shore of Manasa Sarovara where he performed 'tarpana'. Then he was escorted by Tibetan generals to Tholing, the monastery of the king of Western Tibet, where his majesty King Ye-ses-od was waiting for him. At Tholing (the Totling of Sven Hedin) Atisa preached the Mahayana doctrine to the people of Nah-ri (W. Tibet). "In short he revived the practice of the pure Mahayana doctrine by showing the right way to the Lamas of Tibet who had become Tantrik". After a residence of 13 years in different parts of Tibet, Atisa died near Lhasa in 1053 A. D. He was the guru of Bromton, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet.

It may not be inappropriate in this context to relate how we found ourselves before the gates of the Tholing shrine on the evening of 14 August 1922. The intrepid mountaineer Professor Shiv Ram Kashyap of the Indian Educational Service had led a party of four lecturers (including myself) of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, across the Lipu Lekh pass to Manas Sarovara and Kailasa. After finishing our circumambulation of Kailasa, in stead of going back the way we came, we travelled in a westerly direction starting from the source of the Sutlej near Rakshas Tal (the sister lake of Manas Sarovara.) Passing through Gyanima, a well known mart of W. Tibet, Daba, and Mangnang with its artistic wall paintings, we reached Tholing after a fortnight's journey from the foot of Kailasa. The approach to this great monastery, situated in the deep gorge of the Sutlej, was through an intricate labyrinth of deep canyons. Both Sven Hedin and Tucci have described it as a night-mare landscape.

On 15 August (1922) we obtained permission to enter what Tucci

(the Italian Tibetologist) calls the White Temple at Tholing. Here is the entry in our diary (mine and my colleague S. Kashmira Singh's) on that date: "In the porch there were four huge figures—two on each side. Our companion, a Naga sanyasi, called them the four 'Yugas' (Satya, Treta, Dvapara and Kali). Inside the room there were two gigantic dvarapalas or doorkeepers. In the centre was something like an altar partitioned from the main room which contains a colossal image of the Buddha seated on a great lotus. The face had the sweet calm and repose of divine wisdom and the eyes seemed to be smiling with love. It certainly was the work of a great artist. On both sides of the Buddha were rows of life-size standing figures representing worshippers paying homage to the Lord Buddha. The lofty roof was supported by tall pillars of deodar trunks which must have been brought from a great distance as no large tree can grow in the cold desert of West Tibet. We then entered another room which had a 'murti' of a four-headed deity (Brahma? as our Naga sanyasi said) surrounded by figures of other gods. They were of clay but they showed artistic finish. This room had four other rooms on its four sides full of images. There was one perhaps of Sarasvati with a vina in her hands. On the walls were paintings which reminded us of the Ajanta murals. Outside the main building there was a 'parikrama' (for going round the shrine) on the other side of which there were cells full of brass and clay images. In some cells we found old manuscripts scattered about carelessly. In one cell we saw a great standing figure with a sun-flower in his hand (Surya ?)"

The final comment in this entry is: "Really the main temple of Tholing would well repay the careful study of a learned Orientalist". This wish of ours has been fulfilled for the great Italian savant Tucci has visited this shrine since then and has written a valuable book on Tholing.

At that time (1922) we had no idea of the great importance of Tholing in Tibetan history. We heard at that time only the tradition among Hindu sanyasis that this main temple of Tholing was the Adi Badrinath; when Sankaracharya visited this shrine he thought that it was too difficult for Indian pilgrims to reach this place across the Himalayas; so he established the present temple of Badrinath on the Indian side of the Himalayas.

(After a stay of five days there we left Tholing on 20th August. On 23rd August we reached the Mana Pass and after passing through

Himalayan scenery in its sublimest aspect we returned to India (north of Badrinath) on the same evening).

I shall just add that it was in 1925, while working on the early history of Southeast Asia and the spiritual conquests of Buddhist and Brahman sages that I found in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* by Sarat Chandra Das the true significance of Tholing.

THE TAMANG LAMA: तामाङ लामा

As Gorkhali and Nepali are considered to be synonymous terms, so are Tamang and Lama. The term Gorkha became famous since the Anglo-Gorkha war (1814-16). In order to pursue vigorously an expansionist policy and to perpetuate British hegemony on Asia, the British adopted a policy of recruiting the Gorkhas in the British Army, acknowledging the fighting qualities of the Gorkhas.

It is presumed that the British recruitment policy was dictated by religious and communal considerations. As the Buddhists are the followers of the Lord Buddha, who had preached that 'Non-violence is a great Dharma,' the British considered the "psychosis" of Buddhist community and adopted a policy not to recruit the Tamang Buddhists in the British Army.

During the last century, the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal was perpetually under-developed; the economy was in a tottering condition and the people were illiterate and naturally superstitious. The poverty of the people of Nepal was the opportunity for the British, who needed first class soldiers at lowest pay roll. Since Tamang community was an integral part of Gorkhali population, they began to appear in the British Gorkha Army as Lamas, and not as Tamangs. The British recruiting officer was satisfied that the caste name Lama was not in the banned group. The recruit was satisfied that he did not disown his Lamaist faith.

A study reveals that the Tamang community occupies a unique position in the social structure in Nepal, Darjeeling District and Sikkim. Tamangs are Buddhists by religion, yet they are equally at ease with some social customs of the Nepali Hindus including the observance of festivals like Dasai (Durga Puja) and Tihar (Bhai Tika). While performing the obsequies and religious ceremonies the Tamangs are guided by Buddhist Lamaistic rites and rituals, they follow Nepali Hindu pattern in social customs including the marriage ceremony.

Tamang scholars might be able to tell us about the connotation of the word 'Tamang'. According to one school, Tamang is a corruption of the Tibetan word 'Ta-mangpo, i. e. many horses. This theory holds that groups of horsemen migrated from Tibet and settled down in Eastern Nepal and managed to take wives unto themselves. The offspring were the Tamangs. According to another school, the word 'Tamang' is the corrupt form of the Tibetan word 'Ta-marpo', meaning thereby a herdsman looking after a herd of red horse in the Himalayan

pasture. This Ta-marpo tribe crossed over the Himalayas and began to settle in Nepal. In the process of settlement, they married Gorkha women. The children born out of such marriages began to follow the religious practices of their fathers as well as the social customs of their mothers.

In Tamang sociological pattern, the Buddhist religious practices and Hindu social system co-existed and thrived which would explain the obvious paradox of Tamang society. The theory of mixed origin has been supported by Risley when he says, "The physical characteristics and the fact that their exogamous divisions bear Tibetan names seem to lend support to the opinion that they are descended from a Tibetan stock, modified more or less by admixture with Nepalese."

The Tamang community has its own dialect and folk songs. The Damphu is a dance peculiar to Sunwars and Tamangs. The Tamang folk songs sung in harmony with the beating of Damphu (tambourine) are composed either in Tamang dialect or in Nepali language. In my primary school days I often heard my Tamang class friends singing :

‘Bara Tamang Athara Jat
Goru ko Tauko Dhana ko Bhat.’

In simple language the song explains the Tamang tribe-cum-caste structure. The last line explains the food habit of Tamangs when it says that rice will go well with beef. Here again the Tamang scholars may throw light on Bara Tamang (twelve Tamangs) and Athara Jat (eighteen castes) in near future.

It is an interesting fact that Tamangs either write Lama or kindred names such as Moktan, Ghising, Bal, Yonjan etc, after their names. According to some, the custom of using titles, such as Subba or Pradhan, or kindred names such as Moktan, originated in Darjeeling schools. The leading personalities of Tamang community in Sikkim write Lama after their names such as the late Mr. Dakman Lama, Mr. Setey Lama, Mr. N. D. Lama, Mr. Sanman Lama, Mr. Ramu Lama, Mr. Dilbir Lama, Mr. Karmadhan Lama and so on and so forth. Besides the Lamas of Sikkim's monasteries, some members of the Bhutia-Lepcha community write Lama after their names, as the title Lama carries prestige and status. In 1920s however the word Lama as surname was not much current. Ralph Turner, the famous Indologist, does not enter Lama as a surname in his encyclopaedic work ; *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (London 1931).

C. D. RAI

JO ATISA

Professor B. R. Chatterji with his characteristic modesty confines his article (supra pp. 23-6) to the two sites of which he has on-the-spot knowledge. A few observations, for the non-specialist reader of this *Bulletin*, may be made here.

(i) Confrontation and coalescence of Buddhism (Mahayana) and Brahmanism (Saiva) in South-east Asia form an important chapter in the history of Indian religions. B. R. Chatterji himself collected much data. Vide his *India and Java* (Calcutta 1933) and *Indian Cultural Influence in Combodia* (Calcutta 1928). Mention may be made of N. R. Ray : *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta 1936) and R. C. Majumdar : *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (Calcutta 1953).

(ii) Tholing/Thotling is variously spelt and explained in Tibetan sources. Waddell : *The Buddhism of Tibet* (Cambridge 1934) on page 283 and Wylie : *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* (Rome 1962) on page 125 record such data. Chatterji records the Hindu tradition that the main temple of Tholing was the Adi Badrinath.

(iii) David Snellgrove : *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford 1957) on pages 193-98 traces a part of Atisa's journey to Tibet Through Nepal.

(iv) Researches made after Sarat Chandra Das have brought forth further information about Atisa as well as origins of Lama hierarchy. Vide Introduction to the reprint (Calcutta 1965) of *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*. Giuseppe Tucci covers Atisa in *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome 1932-41) and *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949).

(v) A prized item in the non-Tibetan collection of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology is a commentary on Prajnaparamita by Ratnakarasanti, the teacher of Atisa. This is a palm-leaf manuscript in Newari script and on paleographical grounds is dated to the eleventh century after Christ. It is therefore nearly contemporaneous with Atisa (d 1054). It was obtained from a Sakya monastery in October 1958.

NCS

LATE SHASHIBHUSHAN DASGUPTA
ON THE TANTRA

In Vol I, No. 2 of this *Bulletin* we started a symposium on the Tantra with an article by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt. In Vol II, No. 1 we had an article from Lama Anagarika Govinda. In Vol II, No. 2 wrote Mr. Marco Pallis. One principal point discussed by all these eminent authorities related to the question of kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist Tantra. In his article Marco Pallis referred to the views of late Dr. Shashibhushan Dasgupta. Extracts from Dasgupta's *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta 1962) are culled below. We express our thanks to Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay (6/1A Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta 12), publishers of this book, for their kind permission for the excerpts in extenso.

Dasgupta found that the different systems could be apprehended from three points, (i) One of the fundamental tenets of all the esoteric schools is to hold that the human body is the epitome of the universe; all truth (*tattva*) is contained within the body. (ii) Both the Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras have another fundamental feature common to them—a theological principle of duality in non-duality. Both Tantras hold that ultimate reality has two aspects negative (*nivrtti*) and positive (*pravrtti*), and (iii) The Hindu metaphysical principles of *Siva-Sakti* are as much manifested in the material world as the Buddhist metaphysical principles of *Prajna-Upaya*. (See *Obscure Religious Cults* Introduction and *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta University 1958, Introduction).

The excerpts from *Obscure Religious Cults* are given under heads (i), (ii) & (iii).

(i)

(a) "The principles of the Siva and Sakti or Upaya and Prajna are represented by man and woman, and it is, therefore that when through the process of Sadhana man and woman can realise their pure nature as Siva and Sakti, or Upaya and Prajna, the supreme bliss arising out of the Union of the two becomes the highest state whereby one can realise the ultimate nature of the absolute reality".

(p.121)

(b) "..... we have seen that the union of the Sakti with the Siva is what is meant by perfection in Tantric Yoga. Corresponding to this Kula-kundalini Sakti of the Hindu Tantras we find the conception

of a fire-force of the Buddhists in the Nirmana-kaya and she is generally described as the Candali.....This Candali is the goddess Nairatma or Avadhutika or Prajna.....

(P.P. 99-100)

(ii)

(a) "These conceptions of Prajna and Upaya have important ontological and cosmological bearing on the four schools of Nepalese Buddhism. (The four schools are :— (i) Svabhavika, (ii) Aisvarika, (iii) Karma and (iv) Yatnika. The Svabhavika school holds that there is no immaterial ultimate truth in the form of the soul substance; matter is the primordial substance, from which the world proceeds. This matter as the ultimate substance has two modes which are called *Pravrtti* and *Nivrtti*, action and rest, dynamic and static, concrete and abstract.....
.....This *Nivrtti* is the Prajna and *Pravrtti* is the Upaya. We have seen that Prajna and Upaya are deified as the Adi-Prajna and the Adi-Buddha, and the visible world is said to be created through their union. Buddha as the principle of active power first proceeds from *Nivrtti* or Adi-Prajna and then associates with her and from their union proceeds the actual visible world. The principle is symbolised as Prajna being first the mother and then the wife of Buddha.....In some of the Hindu Tantras also we find that the goddess has been given more prominence than Lord, the former being conceived as the first principle. In some places, it has been pointed out, the primordial lord is seen floating in water. What is this water? It is, according to some Tantras, Sakti, who is pervading the whole universe in the form of water. This belief influenced the Nepalese Buddhists also, who have often conceived of Adi-Prajna in the form of primordial water. (प्रज्ञा जजमयाकारा । प्रज्ञा स्त्री-लिंगत्वात् द्रवरूपा ततो जलाकारा ।।)
This Adi-Buddha or Adi-Prajna or Adi-devi are the original father and mother of the world. In the *Svayambhu-putana* Prajna is described as the Sakti of Siva, as the mother of the three worlds, the void of the voids the mother of the Buddhas, the mother of all the gods

..... we find a popular mixture of Purusa and Prakrti of the Samkhya system, of Siva and Sakti as we find Tantricism in general, and the Adi-Buddha and Adi-Prajna of the later Buddhism".

(pp. 340-341)

(iii)

(a) "The point to be emphasised here is that in the Buddhist Tantras a tendency was manifest always to conceive the Supreme Lord in the image of Siva and the female counter-part of the Lord in the image of Sakti, and these Lord and Lady of the Buddhists were in still later times identified completely with the Siva and Sakti of the Hindus"

(p 281)

(b) "This conception of the Supreme Lord and the consort, as expounded in later Buddhism, developed itself into the idea of the Adi-Buddha and Adi-Prajna in the Nepalese Buddhism. This Adi-Buddha or the primordial Enlightened One is the self-created one (*Svayambhu*) of the *Svayambhu-purana*. He is described there as the Lord Supreme, who is worshipped by all the gods, Yaksas and Raksas in the mountain of Gouri-srngga in the country of Nepal. He is described as of the nature of ultimate substance (*dharma-dhatu*). He is often conceived as Lord Vairocana with the other four Tathagatas placed in the four quarters round him. Again, the Lord is often said to be Sakyamuni, who is called both Jagannatha as well as Dharmaraja. This Lord Supreme is called both Svayambhu (i e., the self-originated one) and Sambhu (literally, the Lord of Welfare), which is the most common epithet applied to Lord Siva ; the name Siva also implies that the deity is welfare itself. The Adi-Buddha, who is the Svayambhu and who is called the Dharmaraja is sometimes described as of the nature of the three jewels (*tri-ratna*).

नमो बुद्धाय धर्माय च स्वयम्भुवे ॥
लि-रत्न-मूर्तये तस्मै आदि-बुद्ध स्वयम्भुवे ॥
श्री-स्वयम्भु मे शरणं रत्न-लय-स्वरूपिणम् ।
सर्व-प्रतिदिशा मेऽद्य स्वयम्भुवे कृताञ्जलि ॥

(p. 282)

(c) "In the *Svayambhu-purana* Prajna is described as the Sakti of Siva, as the mother of three worlds, the void of voids—the mother of the Buddhas,—the mother of all the gods".

(p. 341)

It is clear from the original sources used by Dasgupta that Siva-Sakti and Prajna-upaya are interchangeable expressions and corresponding concepts.

BG

Notes & Topics

RELICS OF MADHYAMA AND KASYAPAGOTRA

In the last issue (Vol. III, No.2) of this *Bulletin*, Professor Nalinaksha Dutt in his article entitled 'Buddhism in Nepal', referring to the two great Asokan missionaries who preached in the Himalayan regions, wrote: "relics of both of whom have been discovered in a relic-urn at Sanchi," (P. 27).

Nearly a century ago Alexander Cunningham and a team of engineers found the relics of ten Arhats in four steatite caskets contained within a big casket of white sand-stone beneath a Stupa, adjacent to the Stupa in which the relics of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana were found. The names of the ten Arhats, inscribed on the caskets, included those of Madhyama and Kasyapagotra. While the *Memoirs and Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* preserve the details of discovery and identification of the relics, the general reader will find in Valisinha: *Buddhist Shrines in India* (Calcutta 1948 —) a good account.

These relics were, however, later taken to the United Kingdom and kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum, South Kensington. The relics of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana were returned to India, a few years after India became independent and are now enshrined in Sanchi. The relics of Madhyama and Kasyapagotra were returned in 1958. The Government of India, under the advice of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, presented these relics to this Institute in Sikkim.

The caskets containing these relics were kept back in the United Kingdom as mementos to the British discoverer. The Government of India, on short notice, had stored these in a Kashmir rose-wood casket. An aristocrat of Tibet now settled in India, Yabshi Pheunkhang Gampo Tsering, the leading representative of the House of Dalai Lama XI, has presented to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology a beautiful silver Stupa with carvings, gold mountings and gems for enshrinement of these relics.

